4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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Ka:te:ri, a representative village

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A work-yard in O:ranayi village

[n-120-D]

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

B Ko 433 [241] Ko 433

and other cereals, and probably from their kitchen gardens obtained most produce which was bartered or sold. In the later part of the last century shifting slash-burn agriculture was legally abolished. During this century the Badagas and Kotas abandoned the use of plows and turned to commercial potato production. Economic differentiation between the two groups is based mainly on the fact that Kotas have been partially supported by basketry, blacksmithing, carpentry, hide curing, pot making, and the playing of music. These supplementary activities of the Kotas, practiced to varying degrees by other Indian groups, are commonly associated with low social ranking.

1. The Badagas

B 861 [175] [311] B [342] B 243 [351] [361] B 241 [361]

Occupance pattern. Most Badaga hamlets and villages are located above 6,000 feet and east of the grasslands inhabited mainly by Todas (Figure 2). Harkness' description of Hanjanad before 1832 indicates that the basic Badaga occupance pattern remains unchanged. There was cultivated land around the village, and cattle grazed on nearby grasslands. Houses aligned horizontally into two house-rows on a hill side had joined front porches facing the down slope. A flat courtyard before each house-row was used to hand-thresh and dry grain in the sun. Both courtyards were edged on the outside by low stone walls. At one end of the village there was a compacted circle on which cattle trod out grain, and at the other end there were several cattle enclosures (Harkness 1832: 36-37). Badaga farmers continue to live together in communities, and they cultivate nearby kitchen gardens plus near to distant dry fields (Plate X, A). Coffee, tea, and multilayer gardens

241 with mixed plants are also maintained, but these gardens may be miles away from their owners' houses and on outer Nilgiri slopes. Because
423 land is divided equally among sons upon a father's death, extensive
428 land fragmentation has taken place. To prevent further fragmentation, there is now a tendency for sons to share and jointly manage land.
311 Communal pastures are close enough to permit the keeping of livestock
361 in communities. Individually owned and communal plots covered with
245 acacia, eucalyptus, and temperate fruit trees now occur near Badaga
137 communities. Due to intensive or slowly continued tempera-- forest
318 clearance, only a few small remnant patches of natural fore min on the slopes near many hamlets and villages.

The outstanding features of Badaga hamlets and villages are the
361 house-rows with compacted earth courtyards edged by low walls (Figure
•351 17). House rows within a single community usually parallel each other and are frequently aligned in an easterly-westerly direction, but on
361 flatter terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. Because
364 the Badagas consider it sinful to throw waste water toward the sun,
783 Lord Shiva's emblem, through alignment of houses in an easterly-westerly direction housewives may throw waste water through the back door or over the front courtyard wall without throwing it toward the sun.
841 One dwelling within a community house-row is set apart as a confinement place for menstruating women or women undergoing a postnatal pollution
368 period. In addition to dwellings, house-like temples are built into
243 house-rows. Grain is threshed and agricultural produce or firewood is
313 dried on the courtyards. These also serve as playgrounds for children,
857 as sites for performance of ceremonial rites, and as dance arenas
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857 during festive occasions. Badaga women frequently, sometimes daily,
796 wash over sections fronting their houses with cowdung solution to keep
535 the courtyards flattened out and cleansed. Low earthen or stone walls
356 edging courtyards define property limits and add to the privacy of
351 house inhabitants living within house-rows immediately below. Badaga women sometimes store firewood or keep flower gardens on the wall tops, but they are usually grass covered.

368 Separate shrines and temples stand in communities or on grassy plots outside. Some Badagas own storage huts where agricultural implements, fertilizer, seed-potatoes, and agricultural produce are
366 stored. Small coffee, tea, and supply shops are increasing in number within Badaga villages. Hot beverages, as well as hotmeats, sweetmeats, rice, and curry, are served in the coffee and tea shops. From supply shops are obtained cigarettes, matches, grains, pulses, and vegetables. Areca nut, betel leaf, lime, and perhaps tobacco, which are combined and chewed, are also sold. Blacksmiths, building and supply contractors, carpenters, jewellers, and other entrepreneurs have established
368 businesses in Badaga villages. A single government office, or combination of offices such as panchayat, police, post, and telegraph offices may also be present. Church or government schools are now located in or near many communities.

291 Hamlets and villages still have circular cattle-pens built in
[361] natural depressions or enclosed with stone walls, but cattle-hut construction is slowly leading to abandonment of the pens. Goats and sheep are kept at night on raised platforms within goat- and sheep-
(654) huts. Monetary inducements offered by the Madras Government have

231 771 796 [351] day, but only the most devout follow this practice now (Harkness 1832: 114-115). In January, shortly before goddess Masthi Methai is honored at Bergani, the Badagas celebrate Martu Pongal. Courtyards fronting houses are swept and freshly cowdunged. Women and children then decorate the courtyards with kitchen ash or powdered lime (Plate X, E). Before each house a square with diagonal lines is outlined. After the decorations have been completed, a priest leads a cow through the village from house to house. When the cow stops at each house, it is fed a flatcake made with millet, rice, or wheat and served on a platter placed in the center of the above-mentioned square (Plate X, F). Household women bow to the ground as the cow eats. After it has eaten and had its mouth washed off, the cow is led to the next house. Some time later a calf led around in the same fashion receives similar treatment at each house. Finally, community families feast upon flatcakes served with sugar or curry.

174 241 796 [174] Hunting. Although writers have not referred to the Badagas as hunters, there is some evidence that they were. Past practices are probably preserved in more recent ritual. Among other acts connected with the opening of the main agricultural season at Melur, Francis (1908: 339) recorded that a hunting net was laid before a Badaga priest. After the priest had prayed for a favorable agricultural season, a pretense was made of spearing two fowls which had been thrown into the net, and it was then placed across a game path. A wild animal (sambar deer, if possible) driven into the net was slain, and Badagas divided its carcass among themselves. In July, 1963, a few Badaga men 174 224

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AN50 Badaga AN50
Kota AN55
Kurumba AN56
Toda AN60
Madras Tribes AN63
Kasuva

1. The Badagas

361 [103] [137] Occupance patterns. The Badaga communities of Basukolli, Devala, Kolapalli, Marakarai, Mundhatti, Pandalur, and Soladi are scattered over the Nilgiri Wynaad (Figure 2). They lie in sections with deciduous forest remnants and patches covered by bamboo thickets. The tendency for Badagas to live in nucleated communities according to ancestral custom is in the Wynaad opposed by the tendency for people to scatter over the landscape according to Malabarian custom. As a result, at one community members live in a hamlet, at another some live in a hamlet while others own houses dispersed over the nearby landscape, and at a third all Badagas dwell in dispersed houses within the area covered by the community. To cite specific examples, Marakarai has a hamlet, Devala has a hamlet and dispersed houses, and all Soladi houses are dispersed. Nucleated development follows three steps: 1) a single house is or a few joined houses are first constructed next to a courtyard, 2) a new house is then positioned adjacent to the courtyard and approximately vertical to an antecedent house, and 3) another house is built on the other side of the courtyard and approximately parallel to the previously constructed house (Figure 22). Figuratively, development leads to change from a straight line to an L-shaped to a U-shaped house arrangement. Single dispersed houses are also fronted by courtyards. The growing of at least one 241 718 sacred tulasi plant within a small rectangular enclosure on each courtyard is a distinctive Badaga cultural trait. Frequent sweepings 351 356 with a cowdung solution over courtyards, ground surrounding houses,

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351 and house floors is not only an ancient Hindu custom, but a useful
356 one in that it helps keep termites away.

Rice is everywhere the predominant food crop, and wet rice
243 production is concentrated in broad valley bottoms (Plate XII, A).
As a result, valley sides are seldom terraced. All Badaga houses,
361 whether they be within nucleated centers or scattered around, are
located on hillsides or hilltops next to lower-lying wet rice fields.
Women thus have to fetch water from streams in the valleys below.
(343) Occasionally, small huts or shelters (pandals) for storage or work
are erected near houses. Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas do not build temples
368 in house-rows, but do construct temples in separate worship centers
with pagoda trees. After the single wet rice harvest, buffaloes and
231 a few cattle are kept at night in periodically shifted circular bam-
boo pens erected on dried fields. While rice is growing, the same
livestock are housed nightly in huts with no set form located at some
distance from dwellings. Threshing floors and stacked hay lie near
241 dwellings. Most houses are surrounded by multilayer gardens which
offer cooling shade during each dry season and protection against
torrential rain with high winds during the rainy monsoon seasons.
Close to houses there may also be small kitchen gardens or single
layer gardens. Scattered dry fields on hills are located near or at
231 some distance from houses. Livestock (goats and sheep were not seen
by me) are grazed on 1) rice stubble left after each rice harvest,
2) grasses growing over dry fields untilled for some time, 3) grasses
within nearby degenerate dry and moist deciduous forest or bamboo
368 thickets, and 4) savannas. In the area associated with each community